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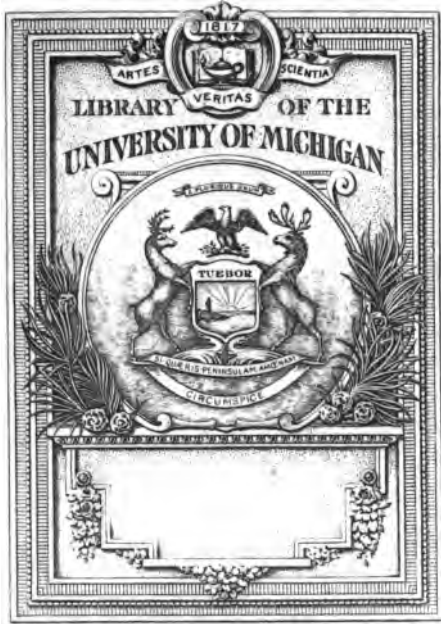
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MESSAGE
OF
HIS EXCELLENCY
JOHN H. BARTLETT
GOVERNOR OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
JANUARY SESSION, 1919



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New Hampshire. Governor.

MESSAGE

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HIS EXCELLENCY

JOHN H. BARTLETT

GOVERNOR OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

TO THE TWO BRANCHES OF

THE LEGISLATURE

JANUARY 2, 1919

JANUARY SESSION

1919

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GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE

Senators and Representatives:

My first impulse is to express to you and your constituents a word of thanks for the great confidence with which you have summoned me to take this sacred oath, and for the loyal support which you have promised me.

With hearts of gratitude for the glorious dawn of peace, with a new sense of brotherhood, with an impelling feeling of thanksgiving to Almighty God, we are assembled here to again exercise and enjoy those sacred privileges of self-government which have been so securely preserved to us by the valor and blood of our sons, both living and dead.

A NEW DAY.

The voices of a splendid people have called us here as the new representatives of a new day.

They bid us to take up our work with studious fortitude, in the spirit of reappraising our state and our needs in this the new light of the best day the world has yet seen. They bid us to see the new viewpoint, and when our duty is thus determined to perform it in a fine spirit of valor,—such as was shown by our boys who have won our triumphs in arms.

We come rejoiced that our victory in war was complete; that our sacrifices have been small; and that we may still feel rich in the possession of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

RETURNING SONS.

I cannot fail to voice an official welcome home to all our living sons who offered themselves to their country. All that we can do for them shall be done. Neither can I fail to speak for you the most feeling word of thanksgiving, and also of consolation in memory of the lives of those heroes laid on the altar of freedom.

It is the duty of the nation, as an expense of the war, not only to care for those who have been made dependent by the war, but to furnish employment at once in public works and improvements, or support without work, those who are forced by the sudden transition of business from a war basis to a peace basis into want and distress through idleness. As one of the sovereign states of the nation, we ask this of the nation, and we are willing to do all we can as a state.

OUR GOAL.

Good government in a democracy is to provide what the people honestly want, and then levy taxes of some kind for payment. These two phases of the question must always be kept together. We should be reasonably sure the people do want each given thing, and then we should discover the best method of securing the necessary money. When that has been done, the executive function of the state should see that the people obtain those results without waste.

POWERS OF A LEGISLATURE.

You now have the power to reconstruct every item of our state government machinery within the limits of the constitution. When this legislature adjourns, if any of our laws and our methods of administering them are not right, regardless of when a law was enacted, the responsibility is on us. It is as bad to pass over and retain a law that is wrong as it is to legislate a new wrong.

HOW TO BEGIN OUR WORK.

The question of how to go to work under our powers to reach our goal comes first. My belief is that we should resolve ourselves into a kind of governmental school for study, by lectures, addresses and discussions, so that each and every one of us, however new to the business, may know the full situation and be able to pass judgment intelligently. Let no one say this is impossible. There are no questions here which we all cannot readily understand, if we study them.

ECONOMIZE IN OUR METHODS.

Our rules and forms should be simplified for new members which means a majority of you. Then no one should introduce a bill until after he has advised sufficiently to know it is not impossible or meaningless and not in bad form to print. We should not go to the expense of printing any bill until it has been carefully scrutinized and inspected so as to prevent the necessity of reprinting. We may thus reduce the number of bills perhaps one half and the printing bill one half and also save our time. Then we have paved the way for a program of careful study on the large, important matters which often go through almost unnoticed in the confusion.

FUNCTIONS OF A STATE.

The functions of a state are divided into legislative, executive and judicial. The constitution has carefully defined the legislative machinery and duties, and we cannot change them. You can change the judicial system but I strongly advise against doing so. The executive department, speaking broadly, deals with enforcing the laws and spending the money appropriated. This needs the most study by you. Primarily it consists in the governor and council.

SHALL THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL BE CHIEF EXECUTIVE?

The constitution of our state makes the office of governor the "chief executive." But the truth is, that the governor and council have been so stripped of their powers by a gradual process of "farming out" their powers to others, that, now, they are not only not the "chief" executives of the state, but in nearly all of the very important matters of finance where judgment and discretion are involved they are no executives at all. It is to a general study of this, to me rather surprising situation, that I wish particularly to recommend the attention of this reconstruction legislature. Believing that the people actually do not know how completely the hands of their elected executives have been tied, while, at the same time, they are held responsible, I now:

cite to you some of the facts with absolutely no reflection on anyone.

THE SUBJECT IS VITAL.

The importance of this subject is fundamental and vital. We are spending between two and three millions of money annually. It is a great business and should be managed from a central, directing and supervising authority at the head. I can think of no better illustration of my idea than to say that the relation of the governor and council to the fiscal affairs of the state should be similar to the relation of the president and directors of a large corporation to that corporation. I believe that the different agencies of the state having the expenditure of any considerable amount of money should be reasonably directed and supervised by the governor and council in much the same manner as the different departments of a corporation are directed and supervised. But this is not so with our state as the laws are now, and here lies what I regard as one of our great reconstruction problems, because this is a time when we are inspecting our whole structure even to the foundation stones.

TWO LAWS WHICH GO THE FARTHEST.

There are two departments which have the uncontrolled and unsupervised expenditures of nearly all our money in which discretionary powers are involved. They are the commission known as "The Trustees of State Institutions," and the highway commission.

WHERE THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE IS ACTUALLY A SUBORDINATE.

The law which goes the farthest in setting up an almost absolute power of gigantic proportions within the state house, which is not only independent of the governor and council but superior to them in power, is the law which places a board in practically supreme control of all the affairs of the State's Prison, the State Hospital, the School for Feeble-Minded Children, the Industrial School and the Sanatorium.

This legislation began in 1913. In 1915 it was re-enacted with some changes and the personnel of the board changed. In 1917 it was re-enacted with other changes and the personnel of the board changed again.

IT HAS GIGANTIC POWERS.

This law gives to the commission the uncontrolled expenditure of about \$700,000 annually, the appointment and supervision of the purchasing agent, an office of tremendous importance and potentiality, the appointment and control of all the superintendents, officers and subordinate managers of these five institutions, the establishment of all their policies and rules (a kind of legislation), even the erection of new and costly buildings, the purchase and sale of land, in short, everything that pertains to the control and administration of this, the largest feature of the state's life. The council members have no voice whatever, and the governor may as well be so classed for all practical purposes. The governor is not even the chairman of this board of six members. He has no power to direct it, and he has no veto power over its doings. If he cares to attend a meeting of the board and sit in such a humiliating position he can do so, but only as a subordinate to cast one of the six votes. His hands are absolutely tied, yet he is responsible to the people for the welfare of these institutions.

IT IS A DANGEROUS LAW.

The governor and council do not have to approve the most important appointments which this board has the power to make. It is required by the law to meet once each week. They do meet and give general direction to the office force and the subordinate managers. They are paid \$8 per day the same as councilors. The governor and council are required to give all their time to the state if necessary. They are holding meetings often whenever it is deemed necessary. If they have ideas or policies, or receive complaints, with reference to these institutions they are powerless to act. If there should be great trouble they

are also powerless to act. The law and the system created is wholly wrong, has dangerous tendencies and possibilities, is subversive of good government, unnecessary, expensive, undemocratic, and in violation of the constitutional intention that the governor and council should be the chief executive officers of the state.

THE LAW SHOULD BE REPEALED.

I unhesitatingly and unqualifiedly recommend the abolishment of the commission, called the "Trustees of Public Institutions," by the repeal of the law, and the passage of an act placing all its powers and duties in the governor and council. The people do not desire all these matters placed beyond the control of the ones whom they elect to lead, *because when you strip an elective executive of power you strip the people of power.*

THE OFFICE OF GOVERNOR BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE.

It is the office and not the one now in it for which I contend. The office of governor belongs to the people. It should not be taken from them by indirection. In addition to efficiency, and every business principle involved, it offends the natural pride of the people to have their chosen chief executive reduced to humiliating impotency, and his rightful functions placed in the hands of commissions beyond their power to recall. I distinguish between great money-spending commissions and others.

BOARD OF VISITORS RECOMMENDED.

Furthermore, I believe that these institutions should have something more than mere cold management. They should be made to feel that finer touch of sympathetic hands and voices which represents the soul of the state. This I would attempt to provide by giving to each institution a separate board of visitors or advisers consisting of both men and women who are inclined toward such social and charitable work, and who would serve without pay. They would assist the management and the governor and council, and

occupy a kind of personal relation between them and the people. They would be helpful to the unfortunates who are our own "suffering Belgians."

NO CHANGES CONTEMPLATED.

I have no thought of any personal changes in any position. My recommendation relates wholly to a change in control from the commission to the executive branch of our government, and if any of the trustees really care about retaining their positions as trustees, I personally very much regret that my duty in this seems so perfectly clear, and that I am compelled in obedience to my oath to recommend this imperative reform.

THE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT.

This department has the expenditure annually of about \$800,000 plus about an equal amount furnished by the towns where work is done, making a total of about \$1,500,000. Here, again, in 1915 were summarily stripped away from the governor and council by far too many of their powers of supervision and control.

GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL SHUT OFF.

The act creating this commissioner absolutely bars the governor and council from all direction and supervision over the expenditure of this vast sum of money, and puts it without check into the hands of one man. I quote from it as follows: "Said highway commissioner shall have all the powers and perform all the duties imposed by the laws of the state . . . upon the governor and council, so far as the same relate to highway matters." This is altogether too much for safety and efficiency.

GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL SHOULD DIRECT AND SUPERVISE.

There should have been reserved the general power to direct, supervise and outline general policies. No one man can be an expert road-builder, and, at the same time be such a financier, business man and organizer as is involved

in the handling of \$1,500,000 each year to the best advantage. He needs the direction, supervision and advice which would come from such a body of men as the governor and council. His large questions should be taken to the governor and council and discussed, and if there is a difference of opinion on them the policy of the governor and council should prevail. The governor and council are alienated by such a law from giving the matter study and interest because their power to act is barred. The governor and council under the present law cannot easily know whether we are getting value received for our money or not.

SYSTEM WRONG.

I am not criticising the commissioner, but I am saying that the system is wrong, because it lacks the oversight of someone higher in authority. It is a vast business and there is lacking that efficient organization, system and supervision which makes every big business a success. It has seven district engineers who are paid about \$1,800 per year, each having assistants. It has a large number of patrolmen all over the state. It has several salaried office engineers, and, of course, many hundreds of employees at times. You can readily see that the governor and council whose residences cover the whole state and who are men of experience might be helpful and might have good ideas as to this great business. They could assist in building up a better system of handling the business. But, above all considerations, they are held responsible by the people and should be given authority to direct and supervise. I recommend an amendment to the law making provisions in accordance with these suggestions.

THE CONTRAST.

I wish you would picture in your minds if you can a contrast which exists here in the state house when your work is done and you have gone home, I mean, of course, as things have been in the past. In two great departments the momentous things of the state are happening. There, nearly

all the money which you have appropriated requiring discretion is being contracted and spent. On the other hand, in the office of your Chief Executive with his five advisers all elected by the people to administer the affairs of the state, is being transacted for the most part trivial and routine business, a multiplicity of petty and social things, such as appointing 100 justices of the peace each month, listening to complaints about the fish and game laws, telling a stream of callers they are in the wrong office and going over vouchers or warrants with meaningless formality. The governor and council have had taken from them the power to appoint for instance, a most important officer like the warden of the State's Prison, but they have left in their hands the power to appoint a police judge in Hampton, and so with other things, with only a few exceptions which have been prevented only by the strong arm of the Constitution. This tendency of stripping the authority of the governor and council is shown in the fact that the only assistance allowed in his office by existing law is \$800 per year which I believe is the smallest, by far, of any office in the building. I have taken the liberty to ask a stenographer to assist me at the usual price of \$1,000 per year, but under our law and procedure, I shall not know until the end of this session whether money will be appropriated for her or not. The trouble is not that the governor is not sufficiently busy, but rather in the fact that he is compelled by our system to be busy about trivial things while the important matters and the expenditure of \$2,000,000 is delegated without supervision, control or veto to others. It is a condition that would never prevail in any successful business.

THE PRINCIPLE.

I have mentioned the two departments which expend the great bulk of our money, where the principle is most violated. But executive direction, supervision and check should reach into every department where the state's financial interests are involved. I ask you to study the laws, the practices and the expenditures of each with this principle in mind, if you believe the principle to be sound.

EDUCATION.

Realizing that the subject of education has taken a new and firmer hold upon the public mind on account of the lessons growing out of the war, and that the value of education and a uniform language as contributing factors to safe citizenship, had seized us with new force, I asked a committee of citizens in whom I had great confidence to study the common school system of the state with a view of advising me what changes should be made. Their report, to which you will have access, is a distinct contribution to modern educational thought. I commend it to your most careful study.

The general principle of the report, that every child in the state should have substantially the same opportunity for an elementary school education, wherever he may live, is absolutely sound. That the state should pay for this, where the local community is too poor to do so, is equally sound. That night schools should be furnished to enable those who work by day to learn to use the English language, is imperative as an Americanization measure. So much I unhesitatingly recommend and the necessary appropriation therefor which may be a considerable sum, perhaps \$200,000 to \$300,000 per year.

The details and machinery to these ends may be open to more careful scrutiny to adapt them to our situation. There must be executive supervision of finances. But the entire subject should be taken up as one of the great pieces of work for this legislature and substantial progress should be made to accomplish the ends stated in said report (which was made for us by Messrs. Streeter, Hopkins, Young, Scott, Taylor, Lessard and Harriman). Nothing that is said on Americanization should be construed to reflect on the patriotism of our Americans of French descent. They have immortalized their names by their splendid valor and patriotism in this war now happily ended. Neither is there any reflection on any school men or any kind of schools. We are simply facing a new day, and we must face it in the new light of things that now are.

THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT.

The legal machinery of the nation is now in motion to amend the Federal Constitution, making the sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes unconstitutional throughout the entire country. It requires the vote of three fourths of the states to make this effectual. Already fifteen states have ratified it. Both political parties in this state pledged the people in their platforms that they would favor such ratification. In other words, we are all pledged to it. It would be a credit to the state to see every senator and representative keep that political pledge on the ground that it represents his honest promise to the people, even if he is not so sure of his unpromised preference. When we agreed to do this it should be considered as good as done, and further argument should be unnecessary. Let us pass this without a dissenting vote. We will thereby permanently establish greater safety to the home and greater security to the state. It is also a most certain step in the line of state economy.

STATE BOARD OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTIONS.

This department has unquestionably been the instrument of a large amount of very helpful service in the line of child-welfare work in which we are all intensely interested. It has grown to be a department which this year puts in a request for practically \$60,000. The board has visiting powers and serves without pay. Here, again, I will say, without recommendation, that the governor and council do not appoint the secretary who has the expenditure of this sum of money. He is appointed by the board. He is a very earnest and faithful worker in this important activity. It may be that you will feel that this department also should be brought a little closer to the executive authority and direction.

THE NEW HAMPSHIRE COLLEGE.

The New Hampshire College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts has grown to be a great institution. It is a benefit more than commensurate with its cost to the state. It

renders a kind of service and influence not easily measured in exact terms of money. We are obligated by the acceptance of gifts of trust, and justified by its beneficial work in the state, to appropriate sufficient money to it each year to produce a sum, which, when added to its fixed permanent income, will maintain this institution on a plane of efficiency comparable with other institutions of its kind, and befitting the dignity and standing of the state. We find at this college just now real reconstruction war problems. I have been over them carefully with the president, and also over each item of his estimates which I believe are made conservatively and in good faith and which I recommend to you, although they are much larger than usual. They are also recommended to me by a distinguished committee of farmers in whom I have implicit confidence (Messrs. Farmer, Caldwell, Rogers, Ranney, Hunter, Titus and Putnam). The war work of this college has won us distinction. The barracks and other buildings erected for war purposes are involved in the estimates, but they may be made of some permanent benefit. Negotiations are now going on for a settlement with the Federal government. The college has been running on a subnormal financial basis for a few years, but we might as well now face the fact that it will cost more to run it, perhaps \$50,000 per year more than formerly, and then also acknowledge and realize the truth, that it is worth what it will cost. It is under excellent management and instruction. It gets about \$120,000 annually from bequests and grants from the Federal government, and we make up the balance. We have been, and are now, constructing costly buildings. I think the governor, or some member of his council, or someone by them duly authorized, should visit the institution oftener and keep closer supervision of the erection of new buildings, and of unusual outlays of money. The new dormitory authorized by the last legislature is about half done, the war barracks must be made suitable for dormitory purposes, and other imperative things done or completed. I discover no tendency to waste and no tendency to be unfair to the state.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

The problem of agriculture in New Hampshire has in it elements of hope and again elements of despair. Certain changes in the evolution of the state were inevitable. Our water power and scenery have saved our state from decadence during the period in which the farms of a generation ago have been experiencing partial abandonment. The streams and scenery have built up cities and villages and brought thousands of tourists, creating a splendid market which did not formerly exist, in fact, so splendid that our best agriculturists now believe that even our small and rocky farms, by intelligent handling, and by discovering their best line of productiveness, may again be made the abiding places of comfortable and thrifty homes, the source of our best citizenship. While I believe the farmer's success, like success in every other occupation, lies in the line of study and enterprise more than in legislation, yet the experience of every state has been that the state, through agricultural departments and agricultural colleges, has been led forward to higher standards of agricultural productiveness and prosperity. We must produce new conditions and not attempt to drive the people back to old conditions. The committee assisting me has made a careful study of the needs of this department as applied to the service it could give to farmers. I have not space to review here all the minor parts of their report. But I do cite with approval their conclusion that this department should do what is called "market bureau" work to aid farmers in locating and maintaining the best market for what they raise, and that this legislature should make suitable appropriation for this purpose. The war has impressed us forcibly with the value of agriculture. We cannot afford to adopt a narrow policy toward agriculture and this department.

TOLL BRIDGES ARE RELICS OF MONEY AUTOCRACY.

A toll bridge means, in unvarnished English, that some corporation owns a piece of the public highway with a right to hold up the people for money every time they pass. One

of the most primitive functions of government is to provide a free road for its people to walk in and do business over. Realize if you can what it means to have freemen in free America held up hourly in a public road for money, a thousand laborers with dinner-pails standing in the road in a cold winter's day waiting their turn to pay before they pass, five hundred automobiles invited to our state receiving the inhospitable welcome of waiting in line until money can be exacted from each, even a funeral procession held up in the dead cold of winter to await the annoyance of the toll invader, and even veterans of our wars, who fought to keep the states united, compelled to pay when stepping over the state line from one state into another. We all know that they are relics of barbarism and un-American. It involves a principle so vital that labor unions, both state and national, are aroused over it. It is not a local matter. It is a political cancer, and permeates every artery of the body politic.

EVERY TOLL BRIDGE.

I refer to every toll bridge in the State of New Hampshire. This legislature shall be known in history as the legislature that *emancipated the highways of the state*. The worst offence in the state is between Portsmouth and Kittery. The local communities are not big enough to cope with the question. It requires both states, and, if possible, the Federal government. Two years ago the legislature, joining with the legislature of Maine, created a joint commission of six of their very distinguished citizens. Our commission consisted of the late Senator Gallinger, Governor Keyes and Judge Page. A unanimous, favorable report from this committee will come before us. A new, free bridge is contemplated, surveys and plans made. It is favored by the governors of the two states, all the senators and congressmen of the two states and by everyone so far as I have heard. It is an imperative necessity. The present toll bridge is rickety and dangerous and sways with the tide. When it goes down New Hampshire and Maine are absolutely separated.

HOW TO FINANCE IT.

The State of Maine whose legislature is now convening, having a budget system, has placed in its budget toward the construction of this bridge \$250,000 for each of the next two years. It would quite likely take two or three years to build this bridge. I think if we saw fit to spread our portion over three or four years, we would not block the project. If we appropriated \$200,000 this year and \$100,000 yearly for three years more, that would make our portion and I think the delay in the payments could be arranged. You may be able to think of some better method. We have accepted Federal aid for our post roads by appropriating dollar for dollar for five years. We will get \$180,000 in two years from this source. While this could probably not be spent on a bridge, the equivalent of it could be, and then we would be just as well off with our roads over the state as we were before this Federal aid came. The automobile money is growing all the time, and \$133,000 from this for four years for such an imperative purpose would not hurt the rest of the state. But if it did curtail a little, the general highway construction and repair work of the state over the roads of the state, would that not be better and wiser? Is it proper or fair to the workingman and farmer or the public generally to spend over \$800,000, as we did last year even, in polishing up the roads of the state for automobiles, and at the same time refuse to take a portion of that money to provide a road for the public to walk in and do legitimate business over? If we cannot afford to provide a road for a poor man to walk in, so far as I am concerned we cannot afford to fix up roads for automobiles to run over. I recommend that by some reasonable system of financing we match Maine's \$500,000 toward this bridge, and co-operate with Maine in the best way possible to bring it to an early consummation. I also recommend that we outline a policy by which every toll bridge in the state in accordance with that policy shall be freed. This is not a new thing for New Hampshire. Two years ago we

appropriated money to help free a small toll bridge in Haverhill, the home of your then governor. It was a smaller matter, to be sure, but it was an honorable and praiseworthy precedent.

MEMORIAL TO THE SOLDIER AND SAILOR DEAD.

Governor Milliken of Maine who is being inaugurated today, has honored us by furnishing me in advance with an extract from his inaugural address which he is now delivering, which proposes in beautiful language an idea widely entertained and universally endorsed. These are his words:

“There is a well-defined and proper sentiment among our people for some sort of memorial to be constructed by the state in honor of those who have lately made the supreme sacrifice for the freedom of the world. If a public edifice is to form any part of this program it is desirable that the structure be useful as well as dignified and beautiful. In this connection I call your attention to the plan that has been made by a Maine and New Hampshire joint commission for a new bridge between Portsmouth and Kittery in place of the present insecure and inadequate toll bridge. On account of the navy yard at Kittery, it is hoped that the Federal government will assume a liberal share of the cost of such a bridge. In that event, Maine and New Hampshire might agree upon this bridge as a joint memorial to the soldier and sailor dead. Especially appropriate would such a memorial be because of the fact that most of the overseas casualties of both states were in the matchless 103d infantry composed of Maine and New Hampshire men.”

I heartily endorse the sentiment and proposal of the governor of our sister state, adding that on the New Hampshire side, in some suitable and beautiful form should be presented to the public view for perpetual remembrance the names of all our soldier and sailor dead who died in the world-war for liberty and civilization.

QUESTIONS OF LABOR.

Although I have had conferences with organized labor leaders in the state, I am not able at this time to inform you

just what request they may desire to make of this legislature. I hope and believe that the war has strengthened the principle of brotherhood and made it easier for capital and labor by conference and compromise to find a common ground of agreement to stand upon and work together. Labor in this state is rational, conciliatory and honestly led. It will be to the state's great advantage if it shall continue so.

Every possible effort of a reasonable nature should be made during the coming few months to keep everyone employed during the transition period.

In the absence of definite pledges or proposals I urge you to retain an open mind on all labor questions, and to give to each such problem as may come to you for solution that sympathetic consideration which befits the spirit of the times and which places humanity ahead of the dollar.

FORESTRY DEPARTMENT.

I do not yet feel competent to form a present opinion as to whether this department benefits the state to the extent of \$40,000 a year or not. We have a skilled forester, I am sure, and he has been very patriotic during the war, having had charge of one of the lumber units in Scotland. I recommend that he give us a lecture on his work here, as well as on his experiences in Europe. Then we may be better able to judge of his value to the state. The war demands have made some inroads into our forests, but just how far the state can act, and just what should be left to the more potent factor of making money I do not feel certain. Public sentiment and personal interest are generally more effectual than state coddling. I am fully alive to the value of forests but how to meet the problems so far as the state is concerned is in my region of doubt.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT.

My idea of a well-organized state government would make this department of more importance than at present. The head of the department should have no other business and should be paid accordingly. This department should

advise the executive, all departments, and the members of the legislature, on strict matters of law. It should attend to the supervision of the enforcement of all the criminal laws of the state, giving direction to all subordinate prosecuting officers. Eventually a state of our size must see the folly of expecting to have a different prosecutor for every kind of a crime. I question whether the laws against cheating need a department of four salaried men. Eventually, when we get down to established prohibition made permanent by the Federal Constitution, I question if the attorney-general cannot enforce those laws as well as others. If we keep on with our sinister tendency we will have a department for every known crime and the attorney-general's department will be doing nothing. We should enact laws so that we can hold the executive and his legal department responsible for all law and order in the state, in all lines. It will be cheaper and more effectual.

PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION.

This commission has been a necessity and is still useful and beneficial. The railroad situation is going through an evolutionary period and no one can say now what may later be easy to decide with reference to this commission. It could gradually be reduced to one member in a state of this size, and its expenses reduced by supervision and by possible co-operation with our colleges. In 1917 we appropriated for it \$10,700 for salaries, \$15,000 for experts, clerks and assistants, and \$6,000 for other expenses, making \$31,700 in all. The members are honest, efficient and hard working. Our colleges ought to do a part of the scientific work needed in the departments, and could, if the executive had authority to work out better co-operation.

STATE BOARD OF HEALTH.

The state board of health and the laboratory of hygiene received an appropriation in 1917 amounting to \$24,350 per year and ask for \$31,250 for next year. This department should receive more attention and be strengthened.

But I have an idea that one or both of our colleges for whom we do so much could be co-operated with in such a way as to help the college and save much money to the state. If we are going to have such a fine scientific school at Durham it certainly ought to do much of the scientific analysis of these departments. I have not been informed of any reason why this could not all be done at Durham. Someone should be given power to look into this question.

INSURANCE DEPARTMENT.

This department is carefully and conscientiously managed on strict business principles. It brings to the state about \$135,000 each year, safeguards our insurance policies, and successfully administers the so-called "blue sky" law which has kept out of the state worthless securities, and has also netted profit in fees during the first year of its operation.

BANK COMMISSION.

This department keeps a careful and constant eye on our banks. During the war they have had trying problems requiring good judgment and great financial acumen to handle; and the success of their work, in the remarkable showing of all our banks, is a source of pride to our people and honor to the state. Three skilled men are required to do the work of this department.

TAX COMMISSION.

This commission has placed our taxation system in this state on a more equable and sounder basis. It has proven the wisdom of its establishment. The commissioners are men of very exceptional strength in the line of their special study. I am of the opinion, however, that one man can now run this department, and I recommend that a law be enacted providing that when vacancies occur in the board they be not filled, until the board is finally reduced to one member. We never have three judges sit on a case, and one man can easily perform all the duties now done by three.

AN EXECUTIVE BUDGET.

My esteemed predecessor recommended in his inaugural an executive budget. It was not acted upon. I heartily recommend it again. By it we mean the following: Each department is required by law to make up its estimates, together with arguments and reasons why each item should be allowed, and file it with the treasurer for the benefit of the incoming governor by December 1 of each biennial period preceding the inauguration; then the incoming governor may begin to study them carefully, and, within ten days after his inaugural, should report to the legislature what he thinks should be allowed in each item of each department. Then the law provides that the legislature shall take up this budget by departments, having a separate bill for each department, consider them carefully, amend them and change them as they see fit and pass them. The law should require that this should be done before any other bills carrying appropriations shall be considered. This clears the budget up at the beginning of the term. It makes a fine system, and enables the legislature to know just where it stands as well as the department. It tends to stop department lobbying and trading.

HOW IT IS NOW.

At the present time each department hands its estimates, without reasons, to the state treasurer. He turns them over to the Committee on Appropriations of the House who prepares a bill, or bills, for the legislature to act upon. This usually comes in late in the session as one long bill and goes through without study or discussion. As the governor probably has not the power to veto part without the whole he is almost compelled to put no thought into it. The system is confusing and unbusinesslike. Without such a law I am attempting to approximate the idea somewhat by giving to you herewith the requests which have come in this year. I have been in possession of them but a very few days, and therefore do not feel like making recommendations in each case, as I would if we had the budget system

which I recommend. But it will give you an illustration of what I mean. I earnestly recommend for this year even as the law is now that your Appropriation Committee report separate bills for the separate departments, and do this as early in the session as possible somewhat as an executive budget law would provide. Such a law is in force and works splendidly in many states.

REQUESTS FROM DEPARTMENTS FOR NEXT YEAR.

For public information and for your study and discussion, I give you here the estimates of the different departments for 1920 which I have just obtained, the law requiring them to be given to the state treasurer by January 1. I recommend that you study these figures in connection with each department because your votes will decide what each department gets, if anything. It gives you an idea of how the money is spent. It illustrates the necessity of your being permitted by separate bills to vote on each department separately if you really care, as you should, to have something to say about the finances of the state.

The total requests for all departments in addition to the automobile money, the Federal aid money and various items of income which is used for the benefit of different institutions amount to a total of \$2,160,426.46 for 1920.

This is divided among departments as follows:

Office of governor and council—Total \$13,100. Items: Salary \$3,000, secretary \$1,500, stenographer \$1,000, councilors \$5,000, incidentals \$250, printing \$350, contingent fund \$1,500, transportation \$700, travel for secretary \$300.

Emergency Fund—\$25,000.

Office of secretary of state—Total \$22,150. Items: Salary of secretary \$3,500, deputy \$1,800, clerical expenses \$1,500, including \$500, report \$500, blanks \$250, express \$400, postage \$400, indexing province records \$1,150, Australian ballot \$100, direct primary \$2,000, law reports \$1,050, copying provincial records \$3,000, copying ancient records of towns \$6,000.

Treasury department—Total \$12,900. Items: Salary of

treasurer \$3,000, deputy \$1,800, clerical expenses \$5,500, including \$1,700, report \$500, blanks \$400.

Insurance department—Total \$11,200. Items: Salary of commissioner \$2,000, clerical expenses \$3,200, including \$2,500, report \$2,000, blanks \$1,500.

Bank commission—Total \$13,550. Items: Salaries of commissioners \$8,000, clerical expenses \$1,150, including \$600, report \$1,800, blanks \$300, expenses of Commissioners \$1,700.

Public service commission—Total \$31,700. Items: Salaries \$10,700, salaries of experts, clerks and assistants \$15,000, expenses \$1,000, inclusive and printing \$5,000.

Lights and buoys—Total \$2,015.

Tax commission—Total \$18,000. Items: Salaries \$8,000, expenses \$1,500, compiling financial statements and municipal accounting \$1,500, clerical expenses \$1,200, inclusive and printing \$5,000, report \$800.

Board of trustees of public institutions—Total, including income from permanent funds of these institutions \$665,354. Items: Said income \$121,554, for the State Hospital \$315,000 plus the income from permanent funds, for the School for Feeble-Minded Children \$85,000 plus the income from permanent funds, for the State's Prison \$52,000 plus income, for the Industrial School \$45,000 plus income, for the Sanatorium \$34,000 plus income, for expenses of running the office. Total \$12,800. Items: Salaries of trustees \$3,500, salary of purchasing agent \$3,000, clerical expenses \$3,500, expenses \$1,000, including \$1,500, printing \$300.

Office of attorney-general—Total \$15,300. Items: Salary of attorney-general \$3,000, salary of assistant \$3,000, clerical expenses \$3,300, including \$1,000, blanks \$300, copies of wills and records \$1,300, supplies \$500, traveling expense \$1,200, enforcement of liquor laws \$500, clerical expenses law enforcement \$1,200.

Supreme court—Total \$30,225.

Superior court—Total \$31,100.

Probate court—Total \$9,900.

Registers of probate and deputies—Total \$11,400.

Department of public instruction—Total \$190,400. Items: Salary of superintendent \$4,000, salaries of three deputies \$7,500, travel \$2,000, truant officers \$1,500, child labor inspectors \$2,400, travel \$1,600, clerical expenses \$3,000, including \$1,800, blanks \$1,000, registers \$600, support and encouragement of schools \$135,000, mothers' aid \$30,000.

Charities and correction—Total \$59,500. Items: Salary of secretary \$2,000, clerical expenses \$1,600, including \$600, blanks \$100, travel \$1,200, care of tubercular patients \$20,000, child welfare work \$8,000, register of the blind \$6,000, support and education of deaf, dumb and blind \$20,000.

Bureau of labor.—Total \$10,300. Items: Salary \$2,500, clerical expenses \$2,000, including \$2,000, report \$500, blanks \$300, board of conciliation and arbitration \$3,000.

Free employment bureau—Total \$4,200. Items: Salary \$1,500, clerical expenses \$1,000, including \$1,500, blanks \$200.

Factory inspection—Total \$8,000. Items: Salary \$4,000, clerical expenses \$1,500, including \$2,000, blanks \$500.

Department of Agriculture and Cattle Commission—Total \$64,550. Items: Salary \$2,500, deputy \$1,500, clerks \$2,000, advisory board \$300, including \$500, institutes and meetings \$2,000, feeding stuffs inspection \$2,500, fertilizer inspection \$2,500, nursery inspection \$500, seed inspection \$1,000, resources of state publications \$2,500, licensing milk dealers \$500, Granite State Dairyman's Association \$1,000, New Hampshire Horticultural Society \$1,000, cattle commission, incidentals \$500, animals, destroyed \$15,000, inspection, disinfection and appraisal \$5,000, possible expense of epidemic \$5,000, moth suppression \$12,500, sheep breeders' association \$500, agricultural fairs \$2,500, apple-grading law \$500, bureau of markets \$2,500, insecticides and fungicides \$250.

Board of health—Total \$19,150. Items: Salary of secretary \$3,000, clerk \$700, including \$550, blanks \$400, epidemic fund \$2,500, sanitary inspection \$5,000, engineer

\$500, purchase of antitoxin \$2,500, venereal disease control \$4,000.

Laboratory of hygiene—Total \$12,100. Items: Salaries of two chemists \$4,000, salaries of two bacteriologists \$2,000, salary of pathologist \$2,000, clerk \$1,200, including \$1,900, blanks \$1,000.

Vital statistics—Total \$2,300.

Lunacy commission—Total \$850.

Adjutant-general's department—Total \$71,600. Items: Salary of adjutant-general \$2,500, clerks \$2,000, including \$900, blanks \$500, officers' uniforms \$2,500, rifle ranges \$2,200, state armories \$10,000, national guard or state guard \$50,000, enrollment expense \$1,000.

Highway department—Total \$855,000. Items: State aid and administration \$125,000, trunk line and cross state roads construction \$200,000, automobile fees estimated at \$450,000, from the Federal government \$80,000.

Forestry department—Total \$58,100. Items: Salary \$3,000, clerks \$3,000, including \$1,600, blanks \$900, field assistant \$2,000, travel \$1,200, salaries of district chiefs \$5,400, maintenance of lookout stations \$8,000, prevention of fires \$3,000, equipment and expense of town forest fires \$7,500, forestry conference \$1,000, care and acquisition of state lands \$5,000, nursery \$4,000, reforestation of waste lands \$25,000, white pine blister rust, control of, \$10,000.

Bounties—On bears and grasshoppers \$800, on hedgehogs \$3,500.

Department of indexing—\$1,200.

G. A. R. department—\$2,150.

Soldiers' home—\$20,000.

Pharmacy commission—\$1,300.

New Hampshire's state dental board—\$1,350.

Board of optometry—\$435.

Care and maintenance of state house—Total \$22,940. Items: Pay roll \$10,940, fuel \$4,000, light and power \$3,000, telephone exchange \$1,600, water \$400, miscellaneous \$3,000.

State Library—Total \$18,030. Items: Salaries \$6,030,

maintenance and operation \$5,600, books, periodicals and binding \$6,000, expenses of trustees \$150, bulletin, public libraries \$250.

New Hampshire College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts—Total \$165,104. Items: Operating expenses \$89,140 (the permanent income being about \$123,000), free tuition \$3,000, poultry breeding \$4,000, repairs and replacements \$8,125, livestock \$3,000, miscellaneous improvements in plant \$13,595, to purchase beef cattle and build sheep barn \$10,000, estimated loss in arrangement with the Federal government for training soldiers \$20,000, to duplicate the Smith-Lever fund from the Federal government \$9,244.98, equipment of new dormitory and completing same \$5,000.

Plymouth Normal School—Total \$41,000 (no details are named).

Keene Normal School—Total \$42,000 (no details named).

Department of Weights and Measures (new department)—Total \$13,000. Items: Salary \$2,500, salary of three traveling inspectors \$4,500, travel \$3,500, clerk \$1,100, including \$2,000.

Prohibitory Law Enforcement—Total \$17,800. Items: Salary \$2,500, salary of state liquor agent \$2,200, salaries of deputies and agents \$6,000, clerk \$1,200, including \$500, report \$200, blanks \$200, commissioner's expenses \$1,000, expenses of deputies and agents \$4,000.

Interest charges—Total \$79,826.48.

Maturing bonds—\$85,000.

Miscellaneous—Dartmouth College \$15,000, fireman's relief fund \$4,000, Public Library Commission \$3,500, legislature \$2,500 (not a legislative year; a legislative year costs about \$165,000), Granite State Deaf Mute Mission \$150, New Hampshire Historical Society \$500, Military organization \$300, Medical referees \$50, Prisoners' Aid Association \$200, Old Home Week Observance \$300.

FINANCES EASILY UNDERSTOOD.

The finances of our state, meaning by that the general principles underlying them, are easy to understand and I

urge you to study them until you do understand them. If necessary we will have lectures upon them.

HOW THE STATE GETS ITS REVENUE NOW.

At present we are obtaining practically all of the money with which we are running the state from the tax on corporations, including the railroads, savings banks, insurance companies, etc. It requires, speaking roughly, around \$2,000,000 to run the state at present. But, of this sum, only about \$60,000, or 3 per cent, of it is paid into the state treasury by other sources than the corporations. This small portion which does not come from the corporations, comes from 71 towns. There are 164 towns and cities that actually pay nothing, but, on the contrary, after having their allotted tax deducted, they actually receive from the state treasury out of this corporation tax money the sum of \$372,690. In other words, the corporations paid enough taxes last year to run the state and return about \$260,000. It is fair that we should know this. If the state paid nothing back to any town or city, it would have about \$260,000 in its treasury each year more than we now have, and towns and cities would have no state tax to pay at all.

THE STATE TAX OF \$850,000.

The foregoing results are arrived at somewhat as follows: We have assessed a state tax for the last two years of \$850,000. But the corporations, in addition to the amount of their tax which the state retained for its use, paid into the state treasury the sum of \$1,112,320.96. This sum, in pursuance of different laws, is paid to the towns and cities of the state. They all get something. One hundred and sixty-four towns get enough to pay their state tax and have an aggregate of \$372,690 as a kind of bonus, while 71 towns get part of their state tax paid but not quite the whole, lacking about \$60,000. Our distinguished and successful Governor Quinby, ten years ago in his message, said that the "most equitable and efficient means of increasing the public revenue lie in retaining in the state treasury" a good

portion of these corporation taxes now returned to towns and cities in unequal proportions.

TWO INAUGURAL ADDRESSES.

In an entirely frank and cheerful spirit I desire to discuss a set of recommendations which will be made to you at once by a recess committee. They cover the same ground which the law compels me to cover. They give you what is practically another inaugural address. Someone in the last legislature, evidently being uncertain who might be the next governor, seemed to think this was a wise precaution. I welcome it because discussions are helpful. Forced to refer it to because of the danger of your being confused by it, I trust it will be understood that no personal element is involved, but simply that we are deliberating squarely and openly in the full hearing of the public.

Permit me to say that this committee has been working only since my election, and that I have been doing the same. Furthermore, that I have advised with as many as possible both in and outside the state house, with people of every kind and class, that I have studied with every interest of the state in mind, and with the determination which comes from a sense of responsibility to all the people, you may be sure. Again, there are no general facts which I have not studied. The difference between my conclusions and theirs is one of opinion and judgment, in which you have a full right to share, and which you can understand, by thought and study, as well as any of us.

This report, in some ways, does not apply as strong a policy of economy as this message, because I recommend the abolishment of at least one commission, cutting down the number of commissioners in others, and a policy of executive supervision which will reduce all expenses all along the line. My whole policy is to establish a business organization of all our state workers in order that there may be no duplication and no loss. I decry waste everywhere regardless of where it hits. This report makes none of these recommendations.

For new revenue they limit your consideration to *three*

ways, namely, taxing near relatives under our inheritance law, a law to induce corporations to organize here to get the fees from them, and the state tax. You will see they omit the proposition (1) to tax intangibles, and (2) the income tax, which I discuss later. My recommendation is that you study all and decide for yourself.

There is about \$200,000 in the treasury left of the half million of the proceeds of the war bonds. They recommend that you at once vote that no more of this shall be used. It can only be used for war purposes as defined in the law, and it cannot get out of the treasury until the governor signs a warrant for it, so, personally I cannot see any cause for anxious worry about it. It is there, in the treasury, perfectly safe. You will have to take this into account when you pass your appropriation bill and make some provision for its application, of course. I understand the governor's stenographer for the war period has been paid out of it in part, and that rightfully. She is still working. The state historian for our boys is being kept going from it to finish the history of our heroes. Do you want to stop that? Some soldiers' widows or dead soldier's mother may need immediate relief. Can you trust us until your appropriation bill takes care of the situation?

The report compliments the bookkeeping in just one department and suggests that the governor has not done his duty, or may do it, as to other departments. It does not suggest that the governor has no power or authority to direct and check departments.

It refers to a "strain" on the state for "a few years" and recommends the "greatest care" against any new propositions *for a few years*. Here we may be misled. My position is that we should have the greatest care not only *for a few years*, but always. Again my position is that we should exercise the greatest care and courage to cut off past errors, follies, and excesses, and to apply to them this same scrutiny and pruning-hook precisely as we should to new propositions.

If this thrust at new propositions in said report is intended

as opposition to the constructive policies which I am recommending requiring money, I cheerfully accept the issue and appeal to you and the public to pass judgment, honestly, without prejudice and in the spirit of the new day.

THERE IS NO "STRAIN" ON THE STATE.

After wide consultation and most careful study I am unable to discover any unusual financial strain on the state. If we take a hopeful, forward-looking and optimistic view of our future, we are now entering upon the most prosperous and mutually helpful period in all our history. The war has taken some of our sons which we sorely lament, but it has brought us closer together and given us new vision and determination. The Kaiser has made us spend about \$300,000 but I can assure him that such a sum produces no "strain" on New Hampshire. She has \$600,000,000 of taxable property, and nobody knows how many millions of untaxed and untaxable property. I ask you to ponder in your minds the right proportions when you are deciding what a "strain" is on New Hampshire. The relation of \$600,000,000 we have to the \$300,000 we spent is precisely the same relation as it would be if a man having \$600 was forced to spend 30 cents. You can figure that out for yourselves. It would produce no "strain." This amount which the war made us spend is less than the money which the state annually pays back to the towns and cities. Comparatively speaking, our state debt is very small. It could be entirely wiped out simply by one mill tax each year for three years.

WE ARE STRONGER THAN EVER.

For all our changes the net result is we are stronger than ever. We have eliminated the tremendous waste and havoc of intoxicating liquor. From this the state is profiting with amazing rapidity. Some of our institutions may soon become factories. There is certainly no "strain" on the people of the state caused by the state tax, because, as I have shown, that is more than paid by the corporation tax.

THE STRONG MUST HELP THE WEAK.

A state will lose, in time, by a too parsimonious policy. The state must be looked upon as a public function by which the strong are made to help the weak. When we carry the doctrine of economy to the extreme of denying things necessary for the poor and unfortunate and the public good, we are, in effect, aiding the strong and denying the weak, seeing only property, and placing the dollar before humanity. Such a policy has a tendency to hurry a possible day when a war may come between those who have and those who have not.

FIVE CHOICES FOR NEW INCOME.

The matter of how the state shall obtain the necessary additional revenue I will discuss under five heads for you to consider and select your own preference.

(1) **TAX ON INCOMES.** We should thoroughly study the question of taxing incomes. It is coming to be understood as the fairest and easiest method of taxation. By it no one pays unless he has earned an income so that he can pay, and very wealthy people with very large incomes can pay heavily, and can afford to pay heavily. The nation has adopted this policy, foreign countries have adopted it and our states are fast adopting it. I believe that real estate is bearing about enough of the public burden, speaking generally. If a man is protected by the state and the government in the enjoyment of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness while he is earning a good income, he ought to pay a tax on that income, at least, this is the argument and it has great force in it.

(2) **INHERITANCE TAX.** As the law is now, there is no inheritance tax payable by the nearer relatives of a deceased person, such as children and grandchildren, husband and wife and brothers and sisters. If the law was extended, so as to make them pay, we could get considerable money after a year or two. Such a law, if you approve of it, should not tax legacies or shares which are less than \$10,000 at all. Many states now have such a law.

(3) A CORPORATION FRANCHISE TAX LAW. States like New Jersey have brought a great amount of money into their treasury by placing on their statute books a law, under which corporations may be organized in such wise as to make it tempting to people all over the country to come to that state in order to organize their corporations. Then they are taxed by the state for the privilege. The trouble with such a law is that the more crooked you make it, the more money you get. It has been repeatedly killed by legislatures in this state. Nevertheless, I believe we could pass an honest corporation law which would improve the present law, and which would bring to our treasury in legitimate manner from \$25,000 to \$50,000 per year. Such a law must be carefully scrutinized.

(4) TAX ON INTANGIBLES. There are probably millions of dollars in this state, nobody knows how many millions, which escape taxation wholly because they are in strong boxes undisclosed. If they were disclosed, the regular tax on them would be ruinous. Many states have adopted a policy of taxing these in a special manner and have gained enormous sums thereby. A recent paper, by the chairman of our tax commission on this subject, is worthy of careful study.

(5) STATE TAX. Whatever we may do by way of opening up one or more of the four sources of taxation aforesaid, the amount which they will produce is problematical, while the state tax is a sure source. The inequality with which the corporation taxes are returned to the cities and towns has never seemed right to me. The railroads, insurance companies and banks are the natural children of the state, are supervised and controlled by the state and many believe with Governor Quinby that their tax belongs to the state for the benefit of all of the people of the state equally. Does it seem right that a rich city with splendid schools and a fine citizenship should pay no state tax and receive a present of \$50,000 annually from the state treasury, while poor towns, with poor schools and difficult citizenship, should

pay their state tax and receive nothing? I realize that this will be opposed because the great majority of the towns and cities receive a great benefit. But, though it hurts my own city, I must adhere to the principle involved.

OUR STANDARD OF ECONOMY.

In establishing in our minds, each for his own guidance, a standard or level of economy by which we will test every line of expenditure, we must look over departments which now exist under our state laws, as well as to the new things proposed. Times change, and a new proposal may be far more important than an obsolete department. We are here to change the laws, if necessary, not simply to prevent new ones. We must not treat existing expenditures as sacred and then say that we can afford no more. To bring things up to date, we may have to cut out some existing expenditures and inaugurate new things demanded by the present. Reconstruction means reconstruction. It does not mean standing still.

TO APPLY MY REASONING TO MY RECOMMENDATIONS.

To make the foregoing reasoning applicable to the constructive recommendations which I am making in this address, permit me to say: I feel very positive the State of New Hampshire is not too poor to afford (1) to give every child in the state a common school education up to the ninth grade with thirty-six weeks in a year, with some regard to the child's health, whether that child lives in Hart's Location or Manchester; (2) to maintain the agricultural department and the New Hampshire College in a healthy standard of efficiency, sufficient to furnish incentive and uplift to the agricultural interests of the state; (3) to spend enough of its \$800,000 of annual road money to provide free roads for its people; and (4) to do justice to its living defenders and their dependents with reasonable memorial to the dead.

I say this without regard to what we have now. I would say this, if it meant the abolishment of every commission in this building. It is fundamental. The standard of econ-

